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ABSTRACT

For many years American Society seemed to feel that all institutional and cultural development of the United States came directly from Western European historical tradition. The greater society lost much of the enrichment and perspective that comes from the acceptance of a cultural pluralism that includes American Indian contributions in society and cultural development. With the growth of the concept of cultural pluralism, however, the Indian community has undertaken programs and activities to preserve the further understanding of their cultures. Attention has been directed to the inadequacy of many textbooks in dealing with American Indian history and culture; efforts have been made to remove educational materials prejudicial to Indian culture. Other projects have sought to preserve the languages, legends, customs, and histories of various tribes. Cultural materials programs that might still evolve include publications on original histories and research on values systems, studies on Indian governments and legal systems, recordings of Indian languages, preservation of Indian oral literature, and changes in instructional and curriculum materials to accurately reflect Indian culture. In addition to describing efforts to preserve the Indian cultures and to promote understanding of them, this document traces the concept of cultural pluralism and its application in American Indian education and discusses the types of curriculum changes necessary to help the two cultures educate each other. (DS)

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THEME: SCHOOLS BELONG TO THE PEOPLE

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FOREWORD

There are two themes that are prominent in American Indian education today. These two are a culturally relevant curriculum and the training of Indians so they may assume professional leadership roles in education. It is with considerable pleasure that the Office of Indian Education Programs is able to share with you evidence that these two themes are alive and expanding, and that the Bureau of Indian Affairs is contributing toward them. The articles pertaining to day-care, early childhood education and cultural studies are all directly related to cultural relevancy in the curriculum. The Cultural Studies effort is a special emphasis the Bureau is making toward tribal involvement devoted to the development of materials that have a variety of uses, not the least of which is in the school program.

Of course, leadership is the key to quality education and it is with pride that the two dissertation abstracts are presented from the professional research of Dr. Samuel Billison (Navajo) and Dr. Jerry Jaeger (Sioux) both of whom are Bureau school administrators. The continued professional development of Indian leaders augurs well for the education of the Indian child.

William J. Benham, Jr.
Acting Director of Indian
Education Programs

PURPOSES OF BIA EDUCATION RESEARCH BULLETIN

The main purpose of any bulletin such as this one by the BIA Office of Education Programs is to disseminate information to a wider audience. In this instance, the purpose is to provide educational research information for professional educators involved in the education of Indian youth and for Indian communities whose children attend school.

Another aspect of the purpose of the Research Bulletin pertains to the belief that education can be improved via research and development activities that are devoted to a determination of effective practices. Hopefully, practices in the education of Indian children will be improved if information about effective approaches and techniques reach a wider audience. Therefore, the Bulletin has a major focus on research in education that describes effective practices.

Another purpose of the Bulletin is to provide a vehicle for educators to use to exchange information. It is a well known fact that literally hundreds of professional educators have performed major and minor research regarding their own interests in working with Indian children. Some of these works have been prepared in the form of theses and dissertations. So, the Bulletin serves as a communication device for professional educators to use in order to share their findings with an audience greater than the immediate school or the college or university that granted them a masters or doctors degree. Educators are invited to submit an abstract of their thesis or dissertation (or both) for dissemination and for possible inclusion in the Bulletin in a full article.

Thomas R. Hopkins, Chief
Division of Program Review
and Evaluation

CULTURAL STUDIES IN INDIAN EDUCATION

Dave Warren

An Overview Impression

From physical heights, whether Macchu Pichu, Xochicalco, the Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan, the Caracol at Chichén Itzá, Puyé, Tsikomo or Blue Lake, Indian cultural development can be seen in terms of change and yet continuity: language continues, structures in which ceremony takes place, socio-religious systems persist and sustain. In this manner one realizes how the past lives subtly in present expressions of individual and community life. At the same time, one sees the conjunction of many forces and trends that represent time line intersections where new directions may bgin to be taken but not severed from past paths.

While we cannot turn back to a previous time and revive all of the cultural features intact, much of the past can be understood and serve us in the use of traditional values, institutions, and other features of a legacy in the present and future. This realization however, depends on how we understand the systems and values as functional in certain other times, with certain support features, still able to function in a later time. The form may change, but the content remains relatively unaltered.

To know the use of tradition in a later time we must know much about the forces that affect us as human beings generally and as part of unique cultural groups. We must comprehend the implications of culture as an evolving dynamic force highly adaptive and subject to countless internal and external forces constantly affecting modification and yet providing the flexibility for change.

Cultural Studies in Indian Education

For purposes of this discussion a very broad interpretation of "cultural studies" is necessary. One must not only consider the reason(s) why an emphasis on ethnic/cultural studies has occurred but, and perhaps most important, it is essential to understand how these studies must be applied in contexts of personal and commun-

ity need. Further, if maximum benefit is to be realized from cultural studies and associated programs, there must be impact and meaning through such efforts in new approaches to educational programs at all levels of instruction. Cultural studies must be capable of providing insight and appreciation for cultural diversity between Indian and non-Indian, as well as among the American Indian people themselves. In line with these remarks, the following outline will serve as a general guide to the discussion: (1) cultural pluralism and its application in American Indian education; (2) response to cultural pluralism—programs and activities in the Indian community.

Concepts of Cultural Pluralism and its application in American Indian Education

> The uniform curriculum works badly because it does not permit of relating teaching to the needs of the particular Indian children being taught. (Meriam, 1928: 1) [Further] the curriculum must not be standardized. The text books must not be prescribed. The teacher must be free to gather material from the life of the Indians about her, so that the little children may proceed from the known to the unknown and not be plunged into a world where all is unknown and unfamiliar. The little desert Indian in an early grade who is required to read in English from a standard school reader about the ship that sails has no mental background to understand what it is all about and the task of the teacher is rendered almost impossible. The material, particularly the early material, must come from local Indian life, or at least be within the scope of the child's experience *(Ibid:* 33).

> Both the government and the missionaries have often failed to study, understand, and take a sympathetic attitude toward Indian ways, Indian ethics, and Indian religion. The exceptional government worker . . . [has] demonstrated what can be done by building on what is sound in the Indian's own life (*Ibid:* 16).

> The methods must be adapted to individual abilities, interests, and needs. Indian tribes and individual Indians within the tribes vary so greatly that a standard content and method of education, no matter how carefully they might be prepared, would be worse than futile (*Ibid:* 32).

> The missionaries need to have a better understanding of the Indian point of view of the Indian's religion and ethics, in order to start from what is good in them as a foundation. Too frequently, they have made the mistake of attempting to destroy the existing structure and to substitute something else without apparently realizing that much in the old has its place in the new (*Ibid:* 50).

The foregoing remarks are found in the Meriam Report of 1928 and referred to studies conducted in Indian program administration, a situation that had become critical by the 1920s. A quick survey of recent recommendations as the Havinghurst, Kennedy Sub-Committee Hearings and other studies of Indian education will have an ironical familiarity with these passages. The Meriam Report resulted from an issues and concerns that many expressed over the manner in which Indian programs were administered; especially education. That issue had its origins institutionally and in policy beginning about 1867 when the Indian Peace Commission recommended to Congress certain measures for reducing Indian hostilities along the advancing frontier in the Western United States. Recommendations included programs that would replace Indian languages with English. Probably traditional institutions and culture identification were maintained through such language programs. Day schools, and by 1879, Carlisle Indian School, soon replaced mission school systems The off-reservation school system was established. With that system came maximum government control over education of the Indian. Contemporary and corollary events in socio-political areas were manifest in the 1887 Dawes Severalty Act which fragmented Indian land holding patterns, shifting from communal, tribal ownership to individual title holding patterns. The interpretation of motivations behind actions of those who saw these measures as necessary to bring Indian people into the greater society and those who were pragmatic politicians and/or militarists continues as the subject of great debate. However, for our purposes, the outcome was the same. Indian culture, language, traditions and strong sinews of connection with family or tribal traditions were either cut or severely altered by these acts.

These remarks and brief outline of cultural factors in education must also be viewed in even a greater context of academic approaches and concepts. Central to this discussion is the manner in which indigenous civilizations of America have been portrayed and

considered as subjects of study in history, anthropology, behaviroal sciences, and other academic disciplines. These and other disciplines have done much to influence the development of textbooks, teacher training and other education programs. To a certain extent policies underlying programs dealing with the Indian people also have been affected by academic studies.

To understand this development of theory, one authority and his work may illustrate the character of study that marked early research and writing about American Indians.

The noted anthropologist, Paul Radin wrote in 1927 (interestingly coincidental to the Meriam Report):

> "When a modern historian desires to study the civilization of any people, he regards it as a necessary preliminary that he divest himself, as far as possible, of all prejudice and bias. He realizes that differences between cultures exist, but does not feel that it is necessarily a sign of inferiority that a people differs in custom from his own. There seems, however, to be a limit to what an historian treats as *legitimate difference*, a limit not always easy to determine (Radin, 1957: ix) [emphasis added].

The term 'uncivilized' is a very vague one, and it is spread over a vast medley of peoples, some of whom have comparatively simple customs and other extremely complicated ones (*loc cit*)."

Radin went on to discuss the importance of social Darwinism, combined with a certain amount of romanticism, that often distorted the concepts of culture.

> "Within one hundred years of the discovery of America, it had become an ineradicably established tradition that all the aborigines encountered by the Europeans were simple, untutored savages from whom little more could be expected than from . . . children, individuals who were . . . slaves of their passions, of which the dominate one was hatred. Much of this tradition . . . has persisted to the present day [i.e., 1927] (*Ibid:* x). The fundamental position taken during these years was based on the doctrine that ". . . . primitive peoples represent an early stage in the history of the evolution of culture *(loc cit)*."

Radin was occupied with the philosophical thought of primitive man. In this investigation he presented a principle that remains near axiomatic as one considers basic characteristics necessary in the evaluation of any "civilization". Radin considered legitimate philosophical systems did indeed function in all societies; to a great extent the issue was irrelevant to matters of complexity or primitiveness of society. "Complexity of civilization has . . . comparatively little to do with the existence of such formulations [language, systemic categories, etc.]. Indeed a complex civilization may very well stifle the urge to philosophize where it does not actually prohibit it (Radin, 1952: xxiv)."

Finally, in his discussion of approaches relating to philosophical thought and systems among societies, Radin touched the real issue when he began to consider what most authorities of his time would accept as valid criteria for gauging the existence of philosophical formulations. For most who would evaluate the validity of such formulations the ultimate conceptual frame of reference was ". . . the integrated philosophical systems which began in Western Europe with Plato and Aristotle (*Ibid:* xxv)." Finally, he commented: "At the bottom of all these theorists as well as many of the ethnologists whose data they have used, whether they admit it to themselves or not, predicate a special kind of mentality for all but the Greeks and their cultural descendants (*Ibid:* xvi)."*

While these statements tend to oversimplify a highly complex subject, we should be able to agree that pragmatic and scientific forces have combined to form a collective set of limiting factors in considering the status, role and vitality of American Indian cultures. From such forces and influences emerge unfortunate limitations on the appreciation of Indian cultures, history and society.

From premises patently stated or tacitly understood, a host of qualifying factors enter the consideration of American Indian society and its place in national or world civilization. The result is myopic and destructive not only to the concerns of Indian com-

*For an important discussion on evaluation of culture see Keith H. Basso and Ned Anderson, "A Western Apache Writing System: The Symbols of Silas John," *Science* Vol. 180 (June 1973), pp. 1013-1022 and Edward H. Spicer, Raymond H. Thompson, eds. *Plural Society in the Southwest* (New York, 1972).

munity but to the greater society which loses much of the enrichment and perspective that comes from acceptance of pluralism that includes Indian contributions in society and cultural development.

Interestingly, some of the great achievements in European culture set up fundamental propositions which later conflicted with the institutions and ethics of the American Indians. The Enlightment is significant for the reversal of medieval orientations of mortal man and temporal society to religion. From the Middle Ages, dominated by the church, all events in human existence were ultimately interpreted in terms of man's rewards or punishments in the eyes of God. With scientific discoveries and accompanying philosophical treatise of the Age of Reason, man became the center of the universe and the manipulator of all natural forces. Later, the Protestant Ethic, the consideration of salvation by determination through the "elect", often measured by accumulation of material wealth, established the foundation for colonial societal attitudes toward the Indian. Issues were immediately defined which would separate the two peoples. Use and "ownership" of land; concepts of justice and due process, religious matters, race, other factors which ultimately emerged as qualifications for membership in the family of man, much less nations, developed.**

The legacy of those historical forces resulted in myth of the "melting pot" as the ideal for American Society. The melting pot was never recognized as antithetical to a more realistic and healthy acceptance of pluralism in our society. Part of that ideal was the value judgment that all institutional and cultural development of the United States, or for that matter, the Western Hemisphere, must come directly and lineally from Wetern European historical tradition. Serious, sensitive but specialized scholars have long maintained that the formula for deciding the validity of American civilization is not exclusively determined by linkage with Euro-

**For a thorough analysis of European thought, scientific and philisophical, on the New World see, Antonello Gerbe, *The Dispute of the New World; The History of a Polemic, 1750-1900* (Pittsburg, 1973), and Edward Dudley and Maximillian E. Novak, eds., *The Wildman Within; An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism* (Pittsburg, 1972).
In America similar attitudes are discussed in Roy H. Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization; A Study of the Indian and the American Mind* (Baltimore, 1971) and Michael Kammen, *People of Paradox; An Inquiry into the Origins of American Civilization* (New York, 1972).

pean or Western heritage. These students consistently recognized

the unique characteristics of individual cultures and the greater need to study, in depth, the inter-action of all groups to better understand their significance in a broader scope of national growth. Until recently the greater study of effects of contact between European and American Indian civilizations has been conducted in Latin American history and anthropology. Various reasons may exist for this characteristic of research and publication. More extensive interdisciplinary investigation such as the early work of the Carnegie Institution in Maya studies brought history, anthropology and other disciplines into mutually acceptable and profitable relationships. Many archeological investigations were significantly assisted by archival research. Further, from the outset there seems to be more concern with Iberian institutions, social, political, legal, religious, with the Indian cultural systems encountered. (In this regard, literature based on native historical tradition and utilizing human resources directly related to the native community.) In short, more of the ethnohistorical approach seems to mark Latin American history as it is related to American Indian life.* The ideas and statements of these men somehow were lost enroute to writing materials for a general reading or publication of survey texts and for use in teacher training. With few exceptions, the universal society theme continued to dominate concepts and formats of writing on American history.

Response to Cultural Pluralism: Programs and Activities in the Indian Community

In 1968, the National Congress of American Indians, meeting in Omaha, Nebraska, passed Resolution 17 which urged all educational

*For illustration of these remarks, some recommeded examples of works include: H H. Bancroft, *Native Races* (5 vols. 1882-1883), *History of Mexico* (6 vols., 1884-1888); Edward Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest* (1962); Zelia Nuttal, *The Fundamental Principles of Old and New World Civilization* (1901); George Foster, *Culture and Conquest* (1960); France V. Scholes and Ralph Roys, *The Maya Chontal Indians of Acalan-Tixchel* (1948, 1968): Miguel Leon-Portilla. *La filosofia Nahuatl* (1959); Angel Maria Garibay, *Historia de la literature Nahuatl* (2 vols., 1954); Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule* . . . 1518-1810 (1964); Benjamin Keen, *The Aztec Image in Western Thought* (1972); Alfred Tozzer. *Landa's Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan* (1961); an interesting article has appeared recently also, Colin MacLachlan, "The Indian Directorate: Forced Acculturation in Portuguese America (1757-1799)," *The Americas* XXVIII no. 4 [April 1972], (357-387), also James P. Ronda, "The European Indian; Jesuit Civilization Planning in New France," *Church History* XLI: 3 (Sept., 1972), 385-95.

agencies and organizations to remove materials that were prejudicial to Indian culture. Further, the NCAI recommended that there be a strong effort to replace such information with valid materials that:

> "represents Indians as they actually were and are, knowing . . . that such materials will improve public reactions to Indians and create an increasing sense of pride in the Indian people themselves."

NCAI concern and recommendations were not new. As early as 1928 (again, contemporary to the Meriam Report), the Grand Council Fire of American Indians, formed by Indian persons living in Chicago, criticized the educational literature used in the city schools as less than accurate or fair. More recently, Congress has heard familiar criticism and old issues raised. In 1969, the Report of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U. S. Senate, in its Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, intoned again the Meriam Report pointing to the failure of textbooks to deal adequately with American Indian history and culture. The Havighurst Report continues these concerns and recommendations. The American Indian Historical Society, an organization entirely administered by Indian people, published a comprehensive study on the inadequacy of current texts in dealing with Indian history. This study, *Textbooks and the American Indian*, includes 270 pages of evaluations, recommended readings and other pertinent data on selection and appraisal of the literature. Under the guidance of Will and Lee Antell, the Department of Indian Education, State of Minnesota, in conjunction with the University of Minnesota published a key document, *American Indians, An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Library Resources, 1970*, which combines criteria for materials (all media) evaluation, with resource information (bibliographies, filmographies, etc.) and the human resources of the State of Minnesota and support agencies that can provide funding or other consultant assistance for educational programs that recognize cultural needs in teacher training, curriculum development and materials development. It is a definitive model for resource guides and evaluation.

More recently, achievements have been made in further development of culturally pertinent instructional material. While quite

numerous, we can select a few of these projects as the representative of the trend now gaining momentum through the nation.

Local/Community Projects

Beginning with early projects such as the Montana Reading Center series, under John Woodenlegs, Northern Cheyenne culture has been disseminated more broadly to all communities in a literature series. Similar efforts have taken place among the Cherokee who have produced stories and legends for publication for a number of years. Combined efforts of the Western History Center, University of Utah, the Uintah Ouray Tribe and the Uintah School District, led to the publication of a textbook, *Ute People, An Historical Study*, in 1970. This project demonstrated the manner in which university, public school, tribal authorities, parents and pupils could cooperate in a major undertaking for the betterment of education information about Indian culture, in this case, the Ute people.

Through the assistance of the Doris Duke Oral History Centers (Utah, Oklahoma and Arizona Universities, principally), the Bureau of Indian Affairs has worked with the Zuni, Southern Ute, Nez Perce, Cheyenne-Arapaho and Paiute-Shoshone in the publication of texts on the history and/or literature of these peoples.*

While the immediate objective of the publications programs is to bring about new and more representative literature for study of American Indian culture and history, a larger, more significant goal also exists: through a survey of the existing literature about themselves, complemented and enriched by materials being derived through such publications projects, each tribe rightfully should become *the* expert about its history and culture. Through experiences of research, writing, editing and publication, the tribes develop a community expertise that serves in educational leadership and consultant roles for teacher training, curriculum development and continuing projects in education materials production. The Library Project of the National Indian Education Association achieves similar results in deveoping community level expertise and defini-

*Other tribally sponsored publications programs include Uintah-Ouray, Lummi, Delaware of Oklahoma, Navajo Community College, Colville, Yakima, and Intertribal Council of Nevada.

tions of programs, including culturally relevant materials in resource centers.

Regional/State Programs

Efforts of Indian communities in cultural programs include those of the Yakima Education Consortium, Lummi Tribal History Project, Intertribal Council of Nevada History and Culture program. Similar achievements in developing materials and organizing programs to implement cultural resources are found at. Fort Apache Cultural Center; Hopi Culture Center, Second Mesa, Arizona; Tewa Language Program, San Juan Pueblo, New Mexico; the Northern Cheyenne Research and Human Development Asociation, Ashland, Montana; United Tribes of North Dakota Development Corporation and many others. Individuals such as Mr. Isadore Tom, Mr. Tom Shakespear and others have written tribal histories and other materials representing the continuing and growing movement in resource materials development among the Indian people of the United States. The Navajo Curriculum Center has long engaged in production of materials. They have available a list of numerous publications. The subjects include linguistic manuals, a two volume history of the Navajo tribe, and a volume of biographies of famous outstanding Navajo leaders. Instructional materials and training programs are concommitants of the publications activity.

A comprehensive listing of these projects and programs is beyond the requirements and scope of this paper. It is sufficient to cite these few examples which can be duplicated many times more in Indian publications, and other cultural studies projects. Complementing these achievements are programs including American Indian Historical Society, Ford Foundation program with American Indian Organization, Center for Study of American Indian History (Newberry Library) and others. Works by Indian authors, including Pulitzer Prize Winner, N. Scott Momaday, Vine Deloria, Alfonso Ortiz, D'Arcy McNickle, and others highlight the literary activity now commonplace among the Indian community.

Community Centers

Whether termed community or cultural centers, another manifestation of cultural programs among Indians can be seen in the construction of community/cultural centers. The Economic Development Administration lists over fifteen such centers. These cen-

ters range from arts and crafts centers (San Juan Pueblo) to more governmentally-oriented centers where tribal political activity occurs (Southern Ute). In the latter case, however, an extremely significant archive of ratified and unratified treaties is housed. This collection has attracted more than passing curiosity among the Southern Utes; research of the documents has provided grounds for investigating certain legal issues that emerge from seemingly passive historical documentation. These centers can easily move from materials collection or archive facilities to active publications houses or similar programs which continue to build on the almost limitless human and material resources of the community.

The final results of community and regional programs as those briefly outlined above are impossible to forecast; however, based on the development of organized cultural materials programs such as these projects demonstrate some of the programs that could evolve include:

1. *Writing of original histories, studies on value systems.* The Inter-American Indian Institute of Mexico publishes a series entitled, "Legacy of the Americas" (*El Legado de las Americas*). It covers the philosophical thought of Mexican and South American Indian civilizations before and after the Spanish contact. The series offers insight into the Indian mind and consideration of the "other side" of an historical development. It is hoped we can establish a major publication counterpart to that series in our country.

2. *Studies on Indian government, legal systems.* To understand recent issues involving Pueblo Indians' desires to be exempted from the 1968 Civil Rights legislation (Public Law 90-284, Title II), one must study the legal philosophy and traditional institutions of Pueblo government to comprehend what the Civil Rights legislation can mean to the survival of basic institutions that sustain Pueblo culture. One need only read tribal testimony given before subcommittee hearings on this issue to realize how serious Federal legislation threatens a total way of life. It is also clear from these tribal statements that the Pueblo people can eloquently speak on the issues. Records and use of such material serve both Indian and non-Indian in evaluating current Indian culture. Cultural interpretions of legal treatises such as Felix Cohen's *Handbook on Federal Indian Law* would be facilitated through thoughts expressed in such testimony.

3. *Linguistic Information.* The richness of Indian languages should be placed on tape and typescript for use by student and teacher. The unique characteristics of an Indian language can give the perceptive teacher some insight into the broad area of psycholinguistics. Second language instruction may benefit from such information. Need for this type of study and material is also cogently stated by Milton Bluehouse who wrote in the first issue of *Contemporary Indian Affairs* (Navajo Community College Press, 1970), and in relation to teaching the Navajo language, support for native language programs should be given to meet three objectives (1) dignity and identity, (2) better understanding of child psychology, and (3) practical advantage in daily communication.

4. *Indian literature.* Such oral and written traditional information may provide a means for students to hear the legends and history of their people. In the absence of an elder who is no longer able to pass on this information, as in the days of old, such material may be of great value. Content themes which include traditional folk tales, recollections of historical events, intertribal relations, contemporary problems of youth, generation gap, reminiscences of reservation life, oratory, ceremonies, personal life histories all have great significance for the potential Indian novelist, or historian. And for the student, simply motivated by personal interest in his cultural origins. Such material has special importance. One need only read materials such as *Can the Red Man Help the White Man? A Denver Conference with the Indian Elders* (Sylvester M. Murey, ed., New York, 1970) to appreciate the significance of traditional views on philosophy and values among Indian people.

5. *Curriculum Change and Development.* With more Indian representation on school boards, the next step will be to change curriculum and instructional material to accurately reflect Indian culture. Cultural materials such as represented by oral histories, unfinished texts like the Navajo, Ute, Zuni and other series publications, can be provided school districts and teachers. Workshops, sponsored by tribes, state, local boards of education, universities, Bureau of Indian Affairs can be instrumental in effecting change.

New Approaches inherent to these programs will require greater interdisciplinary efforts, suggest basic educational outcomes as:

a. Balanced and accurate representations of Indian culture in American and world history. Mutual respect and understanding between Indian and non-Indian should be based on a recognition of the special nature of societies, religion, governments, and other

institutions found in the American Indian world. It is ironic that we sometimes study so-called primitive life to solve crises of modern society. Studies have been funded to study pre-Colombian agricultural techniques in Colombia, Peru, and the Southwestern United States to determine how the early inhabitants conserved the environment. In such studies may rest solutions to ecological problems that face America today. We are beginning to realize the greatness of urban development in ancient America. Few persons, other than specialists, realize there were Indian cities in the most modern sense of the word. At the Mayan site of Dzibilchaltun, dating from the first millennium A.D., grew from a city of 8 sq. km. in 600 B.C. to a metropolis of 125,000 people, covering 20 sq. km. by A.D. 600. The Aztec capital, Tenochtitlan-Tlatelolco, had a population of 300,000 at the time of Spanish contact. A virtual "megalopolis" may have existed along the Pajarito Plateau and other Pueblo areas of the Ancient Southwest.

In South America, other urban centers included many similar advanced developments. ChanChan, the capital of Mochica of the Chimu Empire, is the most extensive and best known. It covered over 18 sq. km. and had a population of 50,000 estimated. Adobe walls 9 meters high, 3 meters thick at the base divided the city into 10 large sectors. The city contained houses, pyramids, public buildings, streets, parks, cemeteries and even garden plots and stone-lined reservoirs. The epic proportions of the Inca civilization and Empire are well known. (Meggers, 1972: 85)

The achievements of American Indian civilization in mathematics, science, medicine, social organization, military genius, political organization, architecture, agriculture, oratory, and literature should be more generally and firmly established through new works at the primary, secondary, and higher educational levels. An extremely rich store of literature should be placed in all comparative literature programs.

b. A better understanding of the fact that American Indian cultures are changing, that American Indian life is dynamic and not static: Examples of Pueblos' self-determination in civil rights discussions, the Zuni program, the emergence of Navajo nationalism, demonstrate change is occurring; but that change must take place at the tribes' own pace and discretion. However, even with change there is still a deep-rooted traditional identification. Too often, customs and practices are viewed as symbols of static tradition, when they should be seen as signs of cultural integrity. Such individual features of American Indian life must be considered as part

of the total American (Western Hemisphere) culture to understand the people and provide intelligent programs that consider and respect particular values and yet accommodate to present forces of change. Through greater interdisciplinary studies, involving maximum Indian contributions, symbols and parts of the total culture may be better understood. If this is accomplished we may provide a way for educators, legislators, and others to, as Bernard Fontana, University of Arizona, observes, ". . . understand what human life is rather than promoting a limited view of what [one thinks] Indian lives should be" (Fontana, 1968: 12). In short, an understanding of the value systems that characterize American Indian people can be achieved.

c. Understand cultural value systems and world views: As Dr. Edward Dozier, a Tewa, observed there are differences in conceptualizing philosophical, religious and other systems that exist among Indian people.

In his discussions, Dr. Dozier contrasted the Pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona with western man. A lineal "cause and effect" system of knowledge and its structural counterparts in institutions or attitudes marks the western European heritage. Dozier points out the "interrelated wholes", many-faceted, views of life characterize the Pueblo World View. Dualism, in the latter sense, is not so much good versus evil as it is that two correlated elements operate in a balanced universe (moiety systems are classic illustrations of this description of the Pueblo structure in government, social and religion-ceremonial life). Each part is seen as necessary to the other; neither subordinate to the other (Dozier, 1970: 112). Through development of materials derived from the tribal community, one can gain insight and understanding to the basic values of another, non-western thought and philosophical system.

d. Curriculum changes that honor the value of cultural difference and deal with the fact of a pluralistic society in America.

e. Bring about changes in teacher training through preservice and inservice training programs or institutes which utilize the original materials developed by the Indian people. Institutes of this type have been held in increasing numbers throughout the Indian community. The training of aspiring teacher and faculty in university schools of education should be a target of this component.

What may be ultimately achieved by projects and programs of this nature may be better understood by means of an incident reported in the writings of Benjamin Franklin. Franklin referred to an offer made by the Government of Virginia to the Six Nations in

1774. In response to an offer to send six Indian youths to Williamsburg College, the Indian leaders replied:

> "[The English] must know that different Nations have different conceptions of things; and you, therefore, not take it amiss if our ideas of this kind of education happen not to be the same as yours. We have had some experience of it; several of our young people were formerly instructed in all your sciences, but when they came back to us, they were bad runners, ignorant of every mean of living in the woods, unable to bear either cold or hunger, know neither how to build a cabin, take a deer, or kill an enemy, spoke our language imperfectly, were therefore neither fit for hunters, warriors, nor counsellors, they were good for nothing. We are, however not the less obliged by your kind offer, though we decline accepting it; and to show our grateful sense of it, if the Gentlemen of Virginia will send us a dozen of their sons, we will take great care of their education, instruct them in all we know, and make men of them" [quoted in (Adams, 1966)].

These remarks have great significance in any development of basic understanding of need and objectives in cultural studies programs. The comprehension of and respect for cultural difference in values and needs must be achieved before programs are initiated. Once the understanding is achieved, a new stage in developing texts, teaching techniques and curriculum may be at hand. If the cultural resources which exist within the Indian community can be brought forth, we may be able to understand and appreciate the observation of the French anthropologist, Claude Levi-Strauss, who wrote:

> "The paradox is irresoluble: the less one culture communicates with another, the less likely they are to be corrupted. . .: but on the other hand, the less likely it is, in such conditions, that the respective emissaries of these cultures will be able to seize the richness and significance of their diversity" (Levi-Strauss, 1964:45).

The next step in the educational process is to educate each other. The future of the American Indian people will be determined to a large extent on the acquisition of skills to live in a rapidly changing technological society. What Indian persons in the days ahead will be depends perhaps more greatly on what we retain as the record of American Indian culture developed and passed on by the Indian people themselves. Through university

and more Indian community participation, the record could be a means of establishing better understanding between Indians and non-Indians, and perhaps more important, among the Indian tribes and groups in current American society. The development of materials and programs, based on the information provided by the Indian people can take many forms and be conveyed through many processes such as we have mentioned above. Whatever form or process used in finding, organizing and distributing this information, the oral tradition and its literary-historical contribution to world culture makes possible an approach through which cultural confusion may be somewhat resolved. Established through the investigation and evaluation of these materials and living statements is the clear identity of the American Indian to himself and to others. Such identity can do much to define direction for the future because we have defined origins.

Once again, this issue must be seen in even wider arenas of concern. Our era in many ways is on a threshold of great decision. The acceleration of technology has not brought satisfying resolutions of human issues, indeed we have found perhaps more dehumanization of society as a result of pure technological advance. In the words of a popular best seller today, we are in the midst of the "Advanced Identity Society." This society centers on the identity and interrelationships of individual human beings—which in the final analysis is the case for a fully developed cultural studies research and applied program. It is imperative to realize the full potential of a pluralistic society as the following passage clearly states:

> "As a consequence of [the] accelerating rate of change, two successive generations today differ more in experience and world view than did a hundred successive generations of the past. The accumulative character of technological progress and its increasing momentum make it probable that the next few decades of this century will bring even more rapid and radical transformation. By traveling this path, man, who won the battle for survival in competition with other species and who developed a culture that permitted the subjugation of nature for human benefit. . . [is] confronted with the challenge of bending culture to his needs. If he is successful, culture, the creator, and man, the created, will become blended; man will be molded by the human conscience. The result will permit man to influence his own biological, social, cultural, and psychological reproduction, and to shape himself by his own plan" (Ribeiro, 1968: 149).

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